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Introduction

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127 It was not without a special reason that the Santa Cruz Collection of the Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum was chosen for the first number of Ethnologica. While it is one of the high points of Professor Wilhelm Joest's collections, which form the basic stock of our museum, at the same time it is a legacy from him, since he built it up shortly before his death and it was on Santa Cruz itself that the seeds of death were implanted in him. It is therefore a duty of respect to erect a monument to him by means of a worthy publication of this collection. A small number of objects, with other parts of the bequest, went to the Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde, where they were given the same consideration as the collection of Professor G. Thilenius there, which is noteworthy for its precise designations. I am very much indebted to Professor von Luschan for permission to use these collections, as well as for photographs of the most important objects. Joest's valuable notes from his journal have already been worked up by Baessler 127 in his Neuen Südsee-Bildern [New Sketches of the South Sea], but [113] unfortunately not in their entirety and in a free and not always accurate version, so that the story form in which he gives the account and which gives the impression that Joest's manuscript was shortened but otherwise reproduced verbatim is misleading. It was therefore necessary to use the manuscript of the journal alongside Baessler's text. The original photographs of natives, huts, boats, etc. come from the magnificent photographic collection of Mr. Küppers-Loosen; to him, also, I extend my sincere thanks for his permission to use the collection and to reproduce it. 127 In this way, Joest's collections and notes form the nucleus, 121 around which are grouped the few other Santa Cruz objects in our museum and the literature available to me, for a probably quite complete picture of the particular culture in the present 121 state of our knowledge. It was self-evident, however, that merely a description of the culture was not enough, that the material presented would have to demonstrate justification for its existence; hence the descriptive part is followed by a culture-historical part,

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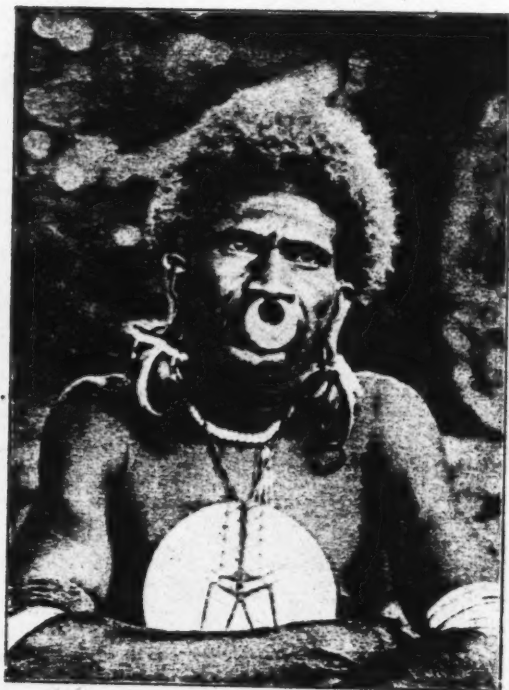


Fig. 1. Man in full regalia, with bleached or powdered hair. (G. Küppers-Loosen Coll.)

- 12/ which is certainly not exhaustive, but probably delineates the most essential cultural connections of the group.
- 101 With regard to the nomenclature, for practical reasons [Fig. 1 appears here] the three partial groups closely connected by cultural uniformity, Ndeni (Nitendi), called Santa Cruz in the narrower sense and located at $165^{\circ} 55'$ east, $10^{\circ} 45'$ south (1),
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1. Joest in Baessler, Neue Südsee-Bilder, p. 370.

with its neighboring small islands, Vanikoro lying southeast of it

[157 cont.]

531 and rhomboid designs (Figs. 14 and 53ff.), which also form the principal element of the designs on implements, here often being transformed into the previously mentioned fish designs (Figs. 28, No. 4, 41f., 58f.). In this a grouping of the designs in stripes or bands, each with two rows of trapezoidal or, more rarely, semicircular figures facing each other, strongly stands out (also Fig. 60) (1). Less common is a circular or disk-shaped

1. Edge-Partington, I, 165, No. 3.

arrangement (Figs. 42, No. 2, and 58, Nos. 4 and 9). In the tortoise shell layer of the breast disks (Fig. 8), the triangular and rhomboid forms are also visible, and even the frigate bird represented on it shows a tendency to be adapted to those forms. There would be no point in listing all the individual designs separately, since they are sufficiently shown in the illustrations. It should be pointed out, however, that certain ornaments are limited to certain implements, such as oars, arrows, and clubs, and sometimes even to certain parts of the implements; I refer to the tips and the handle projections of the clubs on which characteristic single designs occur with more or less regularity (2)

2. Cf. Fig. 58, Nos. 1, 3, and 4, 11 and 12; 1-3, 7 and 8. In any case, cf. Fig. 28, No. 4.

• 121 and otherwise are scarcely found in Santa Cruz ornamentation, as far as I know. It would, of course, be wrong to conclude from this that these decorations have a special meaning or to interpret them on these grounds merely as modified figurative representations. This is possible, but they could also have been crowded out of more general use by the development of a predominant decorative style and their life prolonged to a certain extent as "survivals" [cited in English] at the places that are less suitable for the predominant forms of ornamentation.

There is another point of view that has heretofore been

[157 cont.]

92/ far too little considered in the interpretation of peculiar ornamentation that is apparently alien in style. This is borrowing, the migration of designs, which then to a certain extent become adapted to the style of their new home, yet often lead a certain independent existence there. And to be sure such designs often cling to the implements with which they have migrated. For 53/ Santa Cruz this point of view cannot be applied directly to the 17/ clubs, at least for the present, since the only known form of club closely related to it (3) is undecorated. The situation is perhaps

3. Cf. p. 175.

different in the case of the arrows, certainly with regard to the boxes for betel lime, the designs of which (Fig. 31) [158] show similarities in part with those on the same implements from southern Bougainville and environs and in part with those from 177 Isabel (1). And it is certain that our group learned the use of

1. Cf. Ribbe, Zwei Jahre unter den Kannibalen der Salomo-Inseln [Two Years among the Cannibals of the Solomon Islands], pp. 49, 50; better material in the Berlin Museum. Also Edge-Partington, I, 156, No. 5, and 161, No. 3, which actually come from the central Solomons. In the arrows, too, there are certain similarities between Santa Cruz and Bougainville in details of the ornamentation which should not be overlooked.

121 betel from the Solomons (2). We are just beginning to learn

2. Cf. p. 182.

something about all these questions of the migration and transformation of art forms. We shall progress further after we have

[158 cont.]

121 worked out the characteristics and trends of culture history in general, with which those of the history of art must essentially coincide. The following is intended as a contribution to this task, and it will be seen that even now it actually brings certain problems in the history of style closer to solution.

Culture History

114 In an earlier investigation I came to the conclusion that the cultural conditions of southern New Ireland have not changed essentially since they were described by Le Maire and Schouten (3).

3. Stephan and Graebner, Neu-Mecklenburg, pp. 1f.

175 The first reports about Santa Cruz after the journeys of Mendana
178 and Quiros in 1595 and 1606 go back somewhat beyond that information, but here, too, there is essentially the same situation. The cultural picture of Santa Cruz, at least externally, as it was described in those old accounts and in the most recent ones, is essentially the same as today. To mention only one of the apparently most recent cultural items, Quiros already speaks of the loom (4). Even at that time the language betrays Polynesian

4. Cf. pp. 94 and 96.

influences, and the languages and somatic types seem to have had approximately the same distribution as today (5). The use

5. See pp. 2f. (Cf. the words for chief: "Taurike" and "Taliken," pp. 107 and 109.)

of betel, as well as that of bows and arrows, is clearly evident from Melanesian connections, and the construction of the arrows is apparently the same as it is today (6). Clothing and ornaments

[158 cont.]

6. Cf. pp. 60 and 117.

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178 likewise do not seem to have changed (7). Even the peculiar

7. Cf. pp. 8f.

shape of the sail was already noted by the Spaniards (8). In

8. See p. 74.

only a very few cases can a modification of the cultural conditions be seen: the power of the chief seems to be less evident today on the principal island Ndeni than it was 300 years ago; the double boats have [159] disappeared, along with the feathered arrows; finally, the circular hut which predominated in Mendana's day has been almost entirely replaced by the gable-roofed hut, at least on Ndeni (1). In other words, there have

1. Cf. pp. 109, 66, 117,
35f.

- 121 been few radical changes. The culture history of the Santa Cruz islands was enacted in the main before the arrival of the Europeans. It therefore cannot be studied from written sources, but solely from an analysis of the culture itself and its connections with other cultural complexes of the South Seas.

x [174] For such a cultural-historical analysis Santa Cruz can be set up as a kind of paradigm on account of the comparative clarity of its connections, which primarily rests on the simplicity of its oldest components; for the period prior to the Malayo-Polynesian migration we are dealing essentially with only a basic stratum and a period of secondary and not very far-reaching influences of more recent Melanesian cultures on the group (2). This rare simplicity of conditions makes it

2. However, cf. also p. 189.

[159 cont.]

- 12/ unnecessary to follow the cultural processes backward step by step, as one is usually forced to do, and thus gradually, by a kind of subtraction, peel off the older cultural complexes. On the basis of some preliminary studies that are available (3), I

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3. F. Graebner, "Kulturkreise und Kulturschichten in Oceanien [Culture Circles and Culture Layers in Oceania]," Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, XXXVII (1905), pp. 28 ff. Stephan and Graebner, Neu-Mecklenburg, pp. 158 ff.

can immediately go to the heart of the matter and treat the cultural epochs in their chronological sequence.

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The basic layer of Santa Cruz culture is evidently that complex which, as in the rest of Melanesia, goes with the social system of exogamous patriarchal-totemistic local groups. The system has been preserved in absolute purity on Santa Cruz only [184] in individual areas; in others the local character, on Nufiloli the patriarchy, seems to have disappeared (4). The same is true of

4. Cf. p. 128 where only O'Ferrall's account shows the local character.

x 17/

the rest of Melanesia where the pure form is verified only for the islands of the Torres Strait and the neighboring parts of New Guinea, as well as along Collingwood Bay, on New Hanover and the adjacent areas of New Ireland, and on Kunie (Isle of Pines) and the Fiji Islands (5). The totemistic character of the

[113]

5: Report on the Cambridge Expedition to Torres Straits, V, pp. 162ff. Pösch in Sitz.-Ber. d. Kais. Akad. d. Wiss., Vienna, Math.-Nat. Section,

[163 cont.]

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A number of the elements that are typical of the total culture circle are missing on Santa Cruz, for example, besides the penis sheath, the platform burial, the spear-sling, the ax form with inserted blade, the dagger, and the spear with stone point (9).

9. Graebner, Z. f. E., XXXVII,
pp. 36ff.

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and only part of these, namely, the penis sheath, the spear with a stone point, and the platform burial, are present on the neighboring, culturally related southeast Solomons. It is all the more important to point out a characteristic feature of inner affiliation. The question of the cultural-historical significance of art forms has scarcely been formulated for the South Seas and, as a matter of fact, cannot be dealt with fruitfully before the general principles of a culture analysis have been set forth.

Now, if it can be shown that certain art forms closely coincide in their distribution with culture complexes that have been confirmed elsewhere, not only will the question of the origin of art forms be put on a new basis, but the distribution of the art forms, their purity of style, their transformations and combinations will provide an important measuring device for the psychological unity of the cultures, their points of contact and mixture. Such relationships between art forms and cultures can, in fact, be demonstrated. For the complex dealt with here I should like to point first to the above-mentioned use of animal figures [164] in the shaping of wooden bowls and head-rests (1). Even more important is the ornamentation. I shall

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1. Cf. pp. 157, 167.

first briefly mention the fact that the culture in question in essential elements is also spread across Australia, and in such a way that only part of the elements penetrated to the south of the continent, whereas others are more or less limited to the

[167 cont.]

x 171

to the New Hebrides where the sacrifice of money prevails (6).

6. Codrington, pp. 122ff., 128ff.
Verguet in Revue d'Ethnographie,
IV, p. 211.

The agreement extends to the spiritualistic metamorphosis of the ancient magic of persons (7). The infrequent occurrence of

7. Codrington, pp. 194 ff. The small figures of ancestors, menata, remind one, in the stylization of the head dress, of the figures put on the clubs of San Cristobal, for instance (cf. also Verguet in Revue d'Ethnographie, IV, p. 223, ill.). The stylization is probably indigenous to Santa Cruz, however, so that here, too, perhaps we should think of the relationship as reversed.

masks on Santa [168] Cruz may be explained by the connection with the Solomons; there, too, on the southeastern islands, they are almost or completely absent (1). Likewise the

1. Codrington, pp. 96f., only on Florida.

x 171
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sporadic and atypical occurrence of mother right is explained by the fact that San Cristobal and its immediate vicinity are organized with father-right and the mother-right class system on Florida and its vicinity has deviated from the strict two-class type through totemistic influences as well as secondary, though perhaps not altogether recent population movements (2).

2. Codrington, pp. 29ff.

x 174 [183 cont.]

point of departure or lies on the route of a westward cultural movement, the final ramifications of which perhaps reached as far as the southern coast of New Guinea.

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Here I must add that I do not flatter myself by believing I have exhausted my subject. I do not doubt that further research will discover still more, especially individual connections, as well as regard those that I have pointed out in a different light here and there. In particular I should like to emphasize here, too, that the individual movements of culture which stand out very prominently in certain periods [184] would not have ceased altogether in other eras. On the whole, I hope that we have once more achieved a firm culture-historical basis for a small region of the South Seas, for a small region of one particular part of the world. We need such minute work to put our science on a firm footing. And the method which has grown sturdy in the nursery of minute research will then find its path in the large movements of world history.

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Ethnological Data on the Santa Cruz Islands

by F. Speiser

With Contributions by W. Foy (1)

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1. [It was with pleasure that I followed the suggestion of Dr. Speiser to include his essay in this publication in which Graebner, on the basis of the first large Santa Cruz collection, established by Wilhelm Joest and located in the R. -J. -M./Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum/, which can now be supplemented by the yield from the author's travels to fill the place of a series of missing articles, has drawn up a comprehensive picture of the cultural relations of the island group for the first time (Ethn. I, pp. 71 ff.). It has now gained considerably in breadth and depth. Although an effort was made to describe all the new types and the more important variants of both the material and artistic culture insofar as possible, unfortunately it was necessary to forgo illustrating all the variants because of the wealth of the material. My own contributions include additions to the text, footnotes, and illustrations. All such supplements to the text and footnotes are enclosed in square brackets. I have also provided the captions for Speiser's illustrations, as well as the ones I contributed, whose numbers are also enclosed in square brackets.

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/153 cont. /

121 enclosed in square brackets. I must reserve the culture-historical conclusions that are to be drawn from the new material for a later occasion.

My chief object here was to collect all the available and useful material about the cultural relations of the Santa Cruz Islands that has been published since Graebner's study in this publication, Vol. I, pp. 71 ff., or that I have become acquainted with from the literature and museums. The

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114 following general works should be mentioned: G. Lennier, Description de la Collection ethnographique océanienne qui offerte à la Ville du Havre, M. Le Mescam, Havre, 1896 (Pl. I-VI and Catalogue, pp. V ff., a totally inadequate listing, in part illustrated, of a comprehensive collection from the Santa Cruz Islands, especially from Vanikoro, which, with closer study, would probably add much to the ethnology of these islands, even though various objects have been erroneously attributed to them, such as the plaited mats, Pl. I, II, V, VI, which come from the Gilbert or the Marshall Islands -- cf. Cat., p. VIII -- and the bark cloth cover, Pl. II, which probably comes from the region of Wallis Island -- cf. Cat., p. VI, "Tapis des Wallis en fibres de Banian"); J. Girieud and H. Herrenschmidt, La Nouvelle-Calédonie, Rouen, 1898 (Reef or Swallow Islands, pp. 105 to 108;

/153 cont. /

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the vignettes accompanying this and the insignificant section, "Iles Santa Cruz," probably refer to objects of the New Hebrides but by no means to such of the Santa Cruz group); J. Jennings, "Notes on the Exhibition of an Ethnographical Collection from Santa Cruz etc.," JAI, XXVIII (1898), pp. 164f; W.C. O'Ferrall, Santa Cruz and the Reef Islands (The Melanesian Mission, Westminster, S.W.), and Fl. Coombe, Islands of Enchantment, London, 1911 (Nitendi, pp. 169-194, Reef or Swallow Islands, pp. 195-213, Vanikoro, p. 170; leans heavily on O'Ferrall, not on the work cited here, but on personal accounts and older mission reports); F. Speiser, Südsee, Urwald, Kannibalen /The South Seas, Virgin Forest, Cannibals/, Leipzig, 1913 (Nitendi, pp. 289-303). The pertinent passages in these publications have been referred to, as a rule, only where the material is new as compared to Graebner's work. I was unable to obtain the mission periodical used by Coombe, The Southern Cross Log. For photographs or drawings I am indebted to the heads of the ethnological museums in Budapest, Dresden, Leipzig, and Vienna. The organization of the new material went hand in hand with a re-examination of the old; what proved to be inaccurate in Graebner's study has been corrected. Foy.]

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I concluded a two-year study trip to the New Hebrides in 1911-12 with a visit to the Santa Cruz Islands. I spent six weeks at Graciosa Bay in Nitendi and lived there as the guest

/153 cont./

114 of the planter, Mr. Matthews, for whose hospitality and generous help I wish to express my gratitude here. /154/ Very bad weather and other adverse circumstances prevented me from visiting the neighboring islands, so that I became closely acquainted only with the inhabitants of Graciosa Bay. Therefore the following [162] remarks [unless otherwise indicated] refer only to the population in and around Graciosa Bay, which, however, constitutes the greater part of the population of Nitendi.

121 The following is meant to be no more than a supplement to the excellent work by F. Graebner on the "Völkerrunde der Santa-Cruz-Inseln /Ethnography of the Santa Cruz Islands/," which appeared in the first volume of this publication. Naturally, every traveler sees somewhat different aspects of the culture of the same region, and thus I may be permitted to set down my few new observations which deal almost exclusively with the external life of the natives. I have also purposely refrained from [122] systematically examining the entire literature on the Santa Cruz Islands critically. I cannot refrain from expressing my admiration for the perceptiveness with which Mr. Graebner described a culture which he could, after all, know only from inanimate museum objects and from the literature.

114 Professor G. Thilenius was kind enough to let me use the notes which he made in June, 1898, on his journey through Graciosa Bay. I wish to express my thanks to him here.

My supplementary material is organized on the basis of Graebner's work (1).

1. Besides ethnographical material, a fairly large amount of anthropological material was brought back. This is to be worked up later.

101 In accordance with the English sea charts, I prefer to use the name Nitendi rather than Ndeni. The first form seems to be commonly used, and it seems advantageous to adhere to

[p 95 (B)]

436 One of the most exotic kinds of money in the world today is a belt two inches wide and 30 feet long made of glue, fibers and feathers, particularly the downy red feathers plucked from the breast, head and back of a tropical forest bird. The red-feather currency of the Santa Cruz Islands of the southwest Pacific nonetheless fits the most rigorous definition of the term "money." It serves as a means [237] [825] [556] of accumulating wealth and as a universal medium of exchange in the highly diversified commerce that flows among these islands. The currency itself is fully interchangeable, each belt having a precisely negotiable value in terms of other belts. Against the recent invasion of the Australian pound, moreover, the red-feather money has kept its integrity. It is still the only acceptable specie for the purchase of brides, fine pigs and certain forms of labor.

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436 This improbable currency demonstrates that the use of money is not an economic sophistication limited to high civilizations. Many, but by no means all, primitive peoples have devised moneys of their own. Although the forms of the currencies are as diverse as any of man's inventions—running the gamut of animal, vegetable and mineral matter in the live, raw and processed states—the maintenance of these so-called primitive monetary systems requires the balancing of the same equation of supply and demand that confronts the U.S. Treasury and the Federal Reserve System.

435 If a currency is to serve as a common denominator of value, its value in turn must be carefully regulated. This is one of the most delicate operations in the management of a modern state. It involves adjustment of the demand for as well as supply of money, achieved by control over both the flow and the production of the currency. To a certain ex-

[795(c)]

435 tent, especially for purposes of interna-
436 tional exchange, the Western capitalist
121 economies still refer their currencies to
the value of gold on the world market.
But in the main it is the scope of the
modern state's authority and the extent
of its jurisdiction that effectively fix the
value of its currency.

Lacking the power to regulate demand
(by such devices as manipulation of the
interest rate), primitive societies must
rely on measures that control the supply
of currency against the demand in their
completely free markets. Frequently the
supply is limited by natural or social
circumstances beyond the control of its
users, much as the scarcity of gold or
silver once set the value of the dollar or
the pound. Often, however, the nature
of the currency is such that the society
could "mint" it without limit. Scarcity is
then maintained by some convention
that, through consumption, destruction
or deterioration, renders the currency
valueless and withdraws it from circu-
lation.

436 The red-feather currency system shows
both principles in operation. The
supply of new money is regulated by the
availability of the red feathers and by
the output of the hunters and artisans
who make the money; old currency goes
out of circulation because it loses value
as its color fades. Produced by the na-
tives of Santa Cruz Island itself, the
red-feather currency circulates through-
out most of the islands in the group. In
[631] these islands, where the indigenous
political organization has never extended
beyond a single village, it functions as
international currency, the common me-
dium of exchange among peoples who
speak different languages and live in
contrasting ecological settings.

131 The Santa Cruz Islands, part of the
[648] British Solomon Islands Protectorate.

WHEN A PRIMITIVE AND A CIVILIZED MONEY MEET

William Davenport

IT IS A COMMON story these days to read of a primitive economic system or even large segments of an entire social structure which have become greatly altered by the direct or indirect effects of the society coming into contact and participation with the Western money economy. It is held by many that the universality of our money, a medium by which standardized values can be fixed to almost any good or service, is one of the main factors in this kind of change, for primitive societies are frequently organized around more than one system of valuation. One anthropologist¹ has termed this "multicentric," by which he refers to the fact that one system of valuation is frequently applicable to a limited set of transactions, while a different system is required in another set, and moreover, that these are not in theory convertible.

I shall attempt here to outline the current situation among some islands in the southwest Pacific where this is *not* the case. Here Australian money is competing with an indigenous system of universal currency, which, for all we know, has been in existence for centuries. It is an unusual situation, for owing to their economic behavior which is determined by a strong profit motive, the people want both, yet the native currency is disappearing.

The Santa Cruz Group, lying two hundred miles east of the main British Solomons, are a complex of volcanic islands, true atolls, and raised atolls in which live about six thousand people.² They speak eight different languages: one Polynesian, three other Malayo-Polynesian but of a different stock from Polynesian, and four others, related to each other, but as yet unrelated to anything else. The northern part of this group consists of Santa Cruz Island, the largest; the Reef Islands, thirty miles to the north; and the Duff Islands, still fifty miles further out to the northeast. The culture in these is, by Melanesian standards, fairly homogeneous, and from the economic point of view, it is convenient to think of them as participating in a single economic system.

One of the striking things about this island economy is the number of district and island specialties. These embrace a wide range of skills and services, among which are agricultural specialties, animal husbandry, fishing techniques, and many arts and crafts such as canoe making, loom weaving, and clothing and ornament manufacture. Some of these crafts require the bringing of raw materials from one district or island to another before the products are manufactured and the finished goods are redistributed throughout the group. These specialties are largely inherited patrilineally, and many are protected from expropriation by others by magical and supernatural means. Despite this individuality in production, there is a high correlation of certain specialties with the ecological zone within which it is found. For example, specialized fishing techniques are to be found associated with types of reefs, with lagoons, or their absence; pig breeding with abun-

²[For footnotes, see category 116, page 68-Analyst]

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they, for the time being at least, prefer to go out to work for wages rather than to stay home as the older men do. As a result of this, it takes nearly forty pounds to pay for all the materials and services required for a single piece of new feather currency. This is roughly equivalent to over one year's net earnings in the labor lines of a plantation. In effect, feather currency is being priced off the currency market. In contrast to the binders, the bird catchers are eager to work for old rates, for the lack of production of currency has seen a marked rise in the bird population. Birds are abundant in areas close at hand, and they are easy to catch. To the catchers, this means they do not have to work as hard or long to snare the required number for an order as they formerly did.

Despite this financial crisis, feather currency continues to be an absolute necessity in normal social relations. Most men are unwilling to marry off their daughters without receiving bride prices paid in the conventional manner. Pig breeders, too, demand payment in feather currency for fine animals that are to be used in maturation ceremonies, and the same feelings are held by the many turtle fishermen and the shark fishermen who furnish the special meat for ceremonial occasions. Nowhere has the confidence in feather currency been undermined. In fact, just the opposite realization—that it is becoming increasingly valuable—is what is at the bottom of the shortage. Since the currency is perishable, it cannot be hoarded indefinitely and retained as a kind of special purpose heirloom, to be exchanged only on ceremonial occasions. If present trends continue, then it must eventually disappear, and its functions will be assumed by the use of Australian money.

If one were to look casually at this situation, without knowledge of the internal dynamics, this would appear to be a simple instance of diffusion. A case in which a new element—Australian money—is replacing an old element on a one-for-one basis. It might seem like a simple choice situation, exactly like many others created by acculturation—a case where the native is choosing one object in preference for another according to some utilitarian scheme of values. One could even argue that the replacement is a rational economic choice based on the knowledge that one is convertible to the other, and one has the more general usage; therefore the more general one will be chosen. The apparent choice makes economic sense, too, for Australian money is not perishable, it cannot depreciate with age, and it is easier to carry, to use, and to exchange. All of these utilities are indeed recognized, but they have not shaken the traditional confidence in the indigenous currency.

This apparently simple case of change is analogous to kinds of monetary crises our own society has experienced when, during the bimetallic era, the relative values of gold and silver got out of hand; when various paper moneys were issued on hard currencies; and when international exchange rates between currencies fluctuated. In these situations, people always hang on to the more valuable currency, creating a scarcity, and taking it off the market. It seems, then, that Gresham's Law and the Doctrine of Bimetallic Flows are as applicable to this primitive monetary system as they are to civilized systems.

Yale University

NOTES

1. Bohannon, Paul, "The Impact of Money on an African Subsistence Economy," *Journal of Economic History*, XIX, 491-503. 1959.

2. Field work in the Santa Cruz Group was carried out during 1958-60 as part of the Tri-Institutional Pacific Program (Bishop Museum, University of Hawaii, Yale University), supported by a grant from the Carnegie Corporation of New York.

Introduction

Santa Cruz Census

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●121 This census is presented, as taken, by village and household. It has been brought up to date as of May 1960. The name appearing at the head of each section (e. g., Pala Village) identifies the village as it appears on the map. Numbers at the top left of each listing identify separate households and correspond to the household numbers on the village plans. The capital letter "A" refers to a senior male, usually the husband, of the household, and "B" to a senior female, usually his wife. "C" refers to the children of "A" and "B", and category "D" to all others who live in this house. All persons living with or attached to this household at the time of enumeration have their names underlined, thus Kengiano.

[104]

Estimated ages of persons follow the name in parentheses, thus (33), and the primary descent group affiliation is given in brackets at the right margin after the name, thus [-bū].

[B01]

Indented under all persons of "A" and "B" designations are given their parents preceded by the abbreviations Fa and Mo and their siblings designated by Sibs, Br, or Si. Following these names is an indication of whether they are dead, (d), or where they are now living. If living a cross-reference is given indicating village and household where they will be found.

[163]

When persons of "A" and "B" categories have been married before, a former spouse is indicated by adding a numeral to the letter designation, thus "A1", "A2", "B1", "B2" and so on. Children of each marriage are listed separately under "C" thus, "A1 and B", "A and B1", and so forth. Preceding the name of all persons under "D" is an abbreviation of the significant kinship relation to either of the senior members of that household. If no kin-type designation appears, then that person is included for other than kinship reasons. Abbreviations used here as "Class"—classificatory and "Adop"—adoptive.

[104]